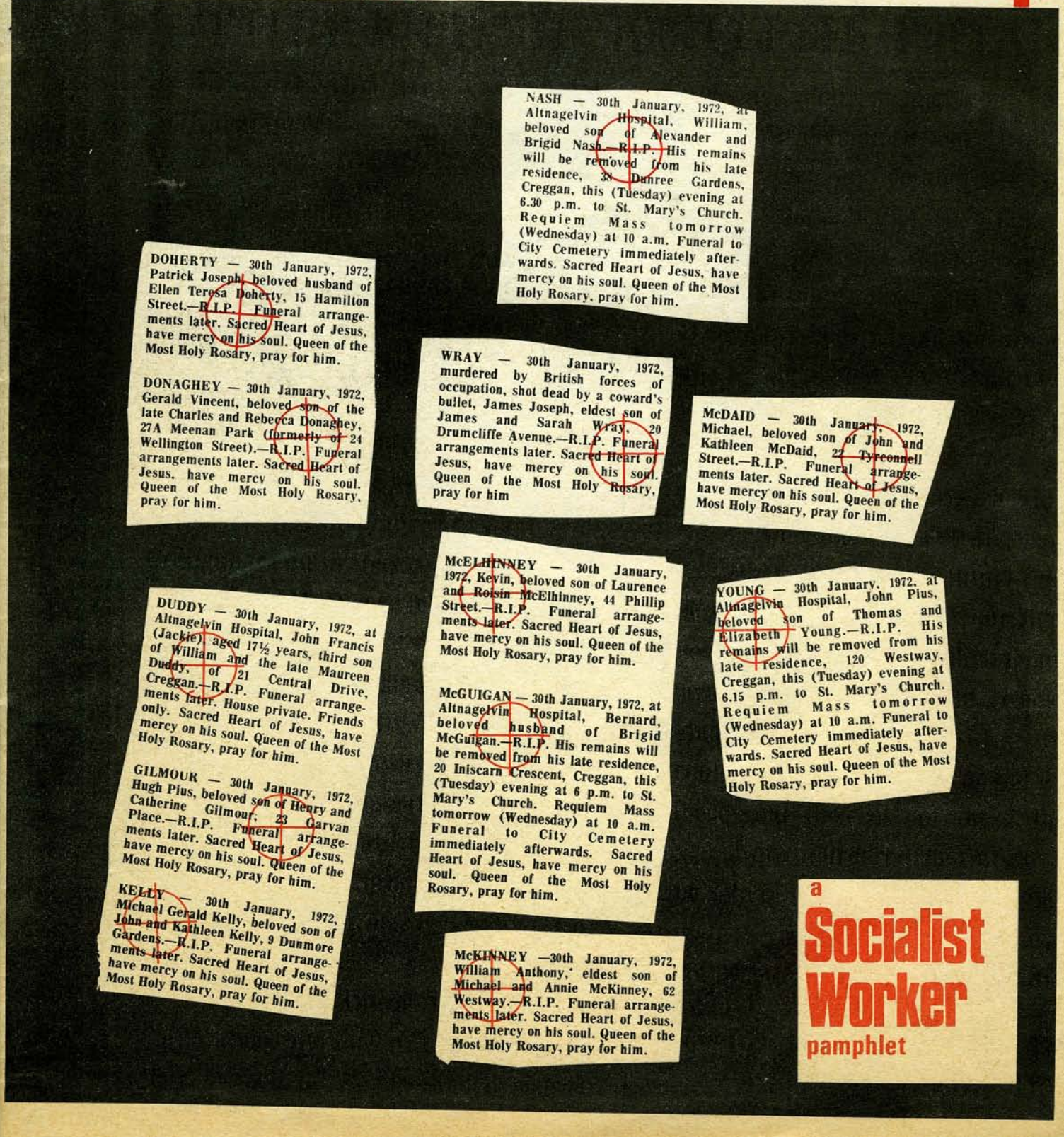
WHAT HAPPENED IN DERRY

Eamonn McCann

5p


NASH — 30th January, 1972, at Altnagelvin Hospital, William, beloved son of Alexander and Brigid Nash.—R.I.P. His remains will be removed from his late residence, 38 Dunree Gardens, Creggan, this (Tuesday) evening at 6.30 p.m. to St. Mary's Church. Requiem Mass tomorrow (Wednesday) at 10 a.m. Funeral to City Cemetery immediately afterwards. Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on his soul. Queen of the Most Holy Rosary, pray for him.
DOHERTY — 30th January, 1972, Patrick Joseph, beloved husband of Ellen Teresa Doherty, 15 Hamilton Street.—R.I.P. Funeral arrangements later. Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on his soul. Queen of the Most Holy Rosary, pray for him.
DONAGHEY — 30th January, 1972, Gerald Vincent, beloved son of the late Charles and Rebecca Donaghey, 27A Meenan Park (formerly of 24 Wellington Street).—R.I.P. Funeral arrangements later. Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on his soul. Queen of the Most Holy Rosary, pray for him.
WRAY — 30th January, 1972, murdered by British forces of occupation, shot dead by a coward's bullet, James Joseph, eldest son of James and Sarah Wray, 20 Drumcliffe Avenue.—R.I.P. Funeral arrangements later. Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on his soul. Queen of the Most Holy Rosary, pray for him
McDAID — 30th January, 1972, Michael, beloved son of John and Kathleen McDaid, 22 Tyrconnell Street.—R.I.P. Funeral arrangements later. Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on his soul. Queen of the Most Holy Rosary, pray for him.
McELHINNEY — 30th January, 1972, Kevin, beloved son of Laurence and Roisin McElhinney, 44 Phillip Street.—R.I.P. Funeral arrangements later. Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on his soul. Queen of the Most Holy Rosary, pray for him.
DUDDY — 30th January, 1972, at Altnagelvin Hospital, John Francis (Jackie) aged 17½ years, third son of William and the late Maureen Duddy, of 21 Central Drive, Creggan.—R.I.P. Funeral arrangements later. House private. Friends only. Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on his soul. Queen of the Most Holy Rosary, pray for him.
McGUIGAN — 30th January, 1972, at Altnagelvin Hospital, Bernard, beloved husband of Brigid McGuigan.—R.I.P. His remains will be removed from his late residence, 20 Iniscarn Crescent, Creggan, this (Tuesday) evening at 6 p.m. to St. Mary's Church. Requiem Mass tomorrow (Wednesday) at 10 a.m. Funeral to City Cemetery immediately afterwards. Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on his soul. Queen of the Most Holy Rosary, pray for him.
YOUNG — 30th January, 1972, at Altnagelvin Hospital, John Pius, beloved son of Thomas and Elizabeth Young.—R.I.P. His remains will be removed from his late residence, 120 Westway, Creggan, this (Tuesday) evening at 6.15 p.m. to St. Mary's Church. Requiem Mass tomorrow (Wednesday) at 10 a.m. Funeral to City Cemetery immediately afterwards. Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on his soul. Queen of the Most Holy Rosary, pray for him.
GILMOUR — 30th January, 1972, Hugh Pius, beloved son of Henry and Catherine Gilmour, 23 Garvan Place.—R.I.P. Funeral arrangements later. Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on his soul. Queen of the Most Holy Rosary, pray for him.
KELLY — 30th January, 1972, Michael Gerald Kelly, beloved son of John and Kathleen Kelly, 9 Dunmore Gardens.—R.I.P. Funeral arrangements later. Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on his soul. Queen of the Most Holy Rosary, pray for him.
McKINNEY —30th January, 1972, William Anthony, eldest son of Michael and Annie McKinney, 62 Westway.—R.I.P. Funeral arrangements later. Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on his soul. Queen of the Most Holy Rosary, pray for him.

a **Socialist Worker** pamphlet

ON 30 JANUARY thirteen people died on the streets of Derry. That day is now known throughout the world as 'Bloody Sunday'. The question remains: Why did it happen?

Did the IRA use the cover of 20,000 people to engage in a fight with the British Army? Did certain members of the British Army go beserk? Was it part of a military plan carefully worked out beforehand? This pamphlet attempts to set out the facts and to decide which of these three possibilities meets the case.

I cannot claim to be neutral in the argument. I was in Derry. I saw the army open fire. The facts as explained here may be unpalatable to many of the British people. They are, nonetheless, facts.

Nobody will convince me that the Paratroop Regiment is incapable of discipline in crisis. The British people do not pay vast sums of money for the upkeep and training of a crack regiment that loses its head at the sight of 20,000 unarmed marchers.

I know the IRA did not open fire. That I am prepared to swear. That this pamphlet sets out to prove. We are then left with the question of the British Army's military strategy. The British people may believe 'their' army incapable of such cold-blooded murder.

Let's get the facts straight. The British Army may well be composed of their sons, men and boys from working-class families, individuals who join the army for many and varied reasons. That is not to say it is the army of the British people. It is the armed force of the British ruling class. It serves the political and economic interest of that class only.

The function of the British Army in Northern Ireland is not to maintain the peace. We have never, in the fifty years of Stormont rule, had peace. While Stormont exists we can never have peace or justice.

The British Army is not protecting the Catholic community. At this moment it is persecuting that community. What, then, is it protecting in Ireland? It is protecting the economic and political interests of British imperialism. It is protecting the investment of ICI, Chemstrand, Courtaulds, Rio Tinto Zinc and all the other parasitic capitalists making their wealth out of the labour of Irish people, North and South.

The same army, were it ordered to do so, would defend the power stations against miners' pickets. It would do so with equal candour and callousness. Whether you, the British people, are prepared to face and stomach the facts or not, the facts remain.

The ruling class respects and recognises only its own power. In defence of 'democracy' and 'peace' they will break every democratic right, every law, every concept of peace and justice they themselves ever set up. In Northern Ireland we have been batoned and beaten on the streets. We have been intimidated, interrogated, interned. We have had our Bloody Sunday. It has not been the first Bloody Sunday. It may not be the last.

What happened in Derry on 30 January was done in the name of the British people, in the interest of the British ruling class. Condone it or fight it. You cannot stand in the middle.

Bernadette Devlin

The factual material in this pamphlet is drawn from three main sources: numerous eye-witness accounts; published and unpublished newspaper accounts; and from the writer's personal involvement in the events described.

The account of the march and of the actual shooting will not be clear without constant reference to the maps. As is argued in the text, it is necessary to know exactly where things happened in order to understand why they happened.

THIS PAMPHLET sets out to discover how and why the Civil Rights march in Derry on Sunday, 30 January, ended in a massacre.

The march left the assembly point late. It was scheduled to set off from Bishop's Field in Creggan, a Catholic housing estate, at 2pm, but the organisers waited for the arrival of outside contingents which were being delayed at army checkpoints at the edge of the town. It got under way, about 10,000 strong, at 2.50pm and headed down Southway towards the Brandywell area.

The march, a protest against internment, was in contravention of a government ban on parades. The marchers disregarded the ban, because they considered that this, too, was an example of political repression. It was assumed that at some point the army would stop the march reaching its objective—Guildhall Square. When this happened it was planned to go to Free Derry Corner, in the Bogside, to hold a meeting.

The march was led by a lorry from the back of which members of the executive of the Civil Rights Association tried, with limited success, to keep the ranks in neat marching order. The young marchers in the front ranks resented the hectoring tone of the instructions to 'keep in line, six abreast please', and cheerfully ignored them. They did not relish, anyway, taking instructions from an organiser from Belfast.

Derry has been the cockpit of the struggle in the Six Counties. It is a focus for Catholic discontent and republican sentiment. And Derry Catholic working-class teenagers are very conscious of the fact.

Singing, chanting and cheering the march swelled as it passed through Brandywell along the Lecky Road towards Bogside. As it turned into Westland Street, it had grown to 20,000 and by now there were hundreds *in front* of the lorry.

From Westland Street the column turned right into Lone Moor Road, then right again into Creggan Street. At this point it was leaving 'Free Derry', the 'no-go' area. The march was momentarily subdued in anticipation of an army attempt to stop it here. But soldiers in Windsor Terrace watched from fifty or sixty yards away, and made no attempt to intervene. Down Creggan Street, past another army detachment, and into William Street.

By this time the lorry, which was supposed to be in the lead, was about 50 yards behind the first line of marchers. In Lower William Street the front ranks came in sight of a formidable army barricade which blocked the street from wall to wall. They hesitated. The lorry was at the junction of William Street and Rossville Street.

The organisers realised that it would be impossible to drive the lorry through the dense crowd to the front, turn and lead the marchers along Rossville Street to Free Derry Corner. It turned directly into Rossville Street and most of the marchers behind followed.

Those who had been in front of the lorry and who now confronted the Army barricade were confused. The lorry had gone out of sight, and nobody knew what was supposed to happen now. After some parleying with army officers behind the barricade and aggressive demands to 'Let us through, it's our town', stones and bottles were thrown at the soldiers. The army replied from behind the barricades with rubber bullets, CS gas, and a water-cannon spraying coloured dye.

In other contexts this might be counted a violent confrontation. But in William Street in Derry it was very much par for the course. A local Irish Times journalist commented: 'Ah well, another friendly wee Derry riot'.

It was now about 3.50pm; the first shots were about to be fired.

2

AT THE TIME of writing, the Tribunal of Inquiry under Lord Widgery is beginning its hearings in Coleraine. Its effect is not to discover and publicise the truth, but to prevent the truth emerging.

Lord Widgery arrived in Coleraine to hold a preliminary sitting on Monday, 14 February. He came in a British Army helicopter. He was accompanied by Mr E. B. Gibbons and Mr Michael Underhill. Mr Gibbons and Mr Underhill are appearing for the Army at the tribunal.

Lord Widgery is totally unsuited to the task of examining impartially the evidence before him. He served in the Royal Artillery rising to the rank of Lt Colonel. He was a Brigadier in the Territorials by 1952. Now, as one of the most prominent members of the British establishment, he earns a salary of £16,000 He is not the *class* of man who could assess objectively the weight of evidence from British Army officers as against that from Irish working class civilians.

Even if he were to make some preternatural mental leap into unimpeachable 'objectivity' his tribunal could not get at the important facts.

Outlining the scope of the inquiry at the preliminary hearing on 14 February, he said: 'The limits of the inquiry in space, are the streets of Londonderry where the disturbances and the ultimate shootings took place, an area of perhaps one mile in radius. The time within which the inquiry is concerned to make investigation can be expressed as the period beginning with the moment when the march taking place in Londonderry on that day first became involved in violence of one kind or another, and ending with the conclusion of the affair and the deaths.'

Thus his original intention was to exclude *any* investigation of whether the soldiers in Derry on 30 January were acting according to a prepared plan. He did not intend to ask, much less strive to discover, who drew up any such plan and who approved it. The organisers of the march, the overwhelming majority of Bogsiders and the families of all the dead men decided immediately to boycott the inquiry, thus draining it of all residual credibility.

As a result of this, and under intense political pressure, Widgery announced slightly extended terms of reference at the first proper sitting of the tribunal on February 21. He now said that he would investigate 'the orders given to the army, and especially the paratroopers'—but that he would not examine 'the political or military thinking behind those orders'.

But it is precisely the 'political and military thinking behind those orders' which is important. One will be interested to discover which officer ordered soldier A to take up which position, and whether soldier A followed such instructions to

the letter. One will be interested, but the question is of marginal significance.

What is important is whether the army's plans for that day were part of over-all military strategy; and whether, to what extent, and as a result of what liaisons, military activity resulted from the political needs and directions of the Stormont or Westminster governments, or both.

Lord Widgery has decided, judiciously, not to ask these questions. In other words he will not ask any questions the answers to which might expose the *politics* underlying the situation.

In one respect, however, the tribunal has already been a marked success. It has stopped the facts being brought before the British public. Lord Widgery would agree that this was a success easily achieved.

The Sunday Times and the Observer had each sent a team of journalists to Derry on 31 January. By Friday both papers had assembled exhaustive and fairly accurate accounts of what had happened. Both accounts demolished the army's and British government's version of the events.

On Friday, 4 February, Mr Harold Evans, editor of the Sunday Times, phoned Lord Widgery and asked for his Lordship's advice on the advisability of printing the material. Lord Widgery advised that it should not be printed. Mr Evans complied.

On Saturday, 5 February, Mr David Astor, editor of the Observer, decided to follow suit. So much for the trendy, super-investigative Sunday Times. Likewise for the fearless, high-minded, liberalism of the Observer.

3

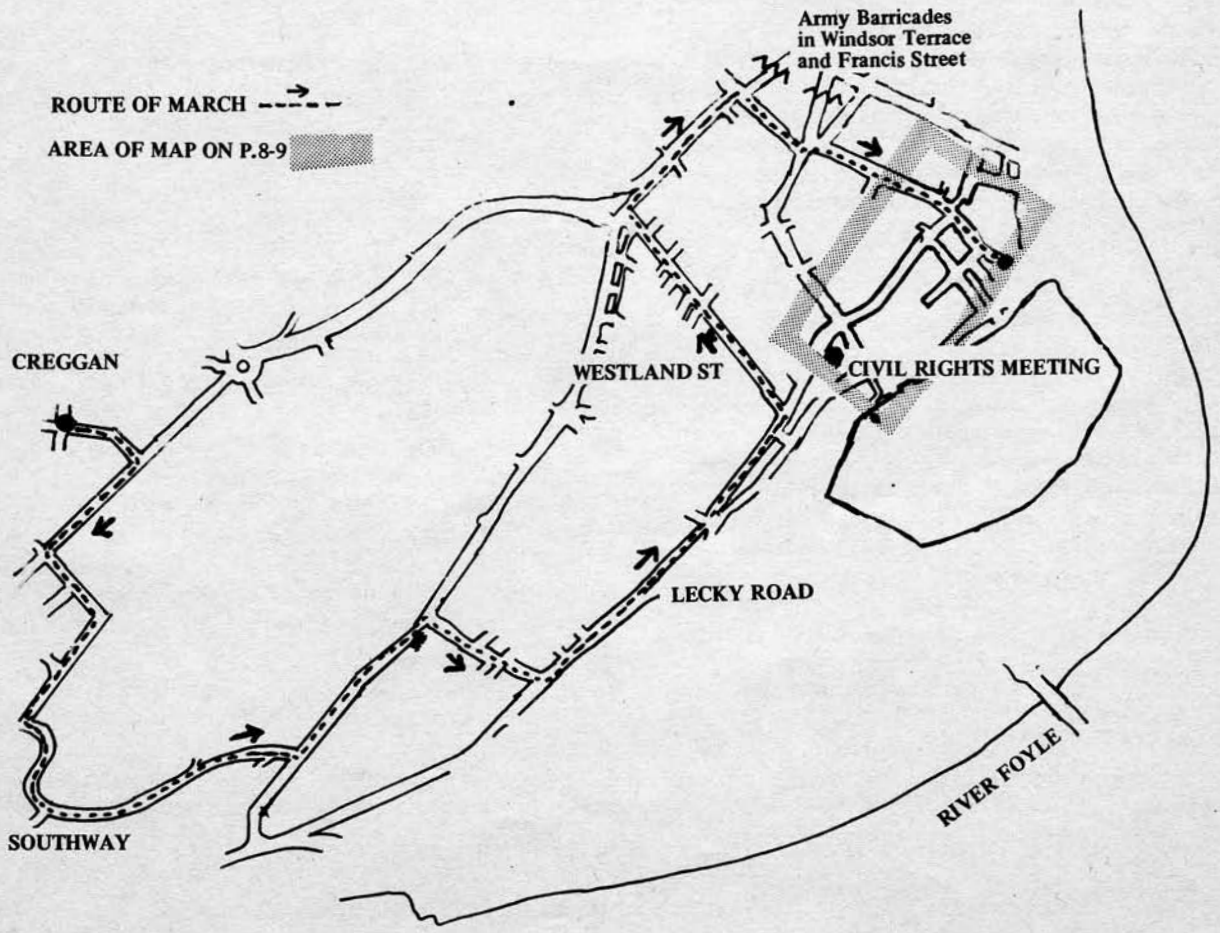
AT ABOUT 3.55pm a soldier positioned on the roof of Stevenson's Bakery shot into William Street and wounded 15-year-old Damian Donaghy. John Johnston, 57, ran to help him. He too was shot and wounded from the bakery roof.

Donaghy and Johnston were carried into a nearby house and treated by a doctor. Neither was seriously injured. In the chaos and confusion, as thousands milled around and helped one another through the gas, few realised that two people had been shot.

By 4.10pm the overwhelming majority of the people were gathered around the platform at Free Derry Corner. Lord Brockway had been introduced to the crowd, to loud applause. The chairman handed the mike to the first speaker, Bernadette Devlin. Hearing the meeting get under way, the few people remaining in the William Street area started walking back.

About this time the army fired again. The shots came from near the junction of Chamberlain Street and William Street. One killed Jack Duddy, 17, who was standing in Chamberlain Street near the Rossville car park. This was the first body, seen on BBC television being carried away by a priest waving a handkerchief soaked in the boy's blood. The second shot wounded Peggy Derry, 37, also in Chamberlain Street.

These shots were heard by the crowd gathered for the meeting and for a few moments there was panic. Nobody knew who was shooting at whom or whether anyone had been hit. Bernadette Devlin and Ivan Cooper appealed from the platform for calm, and told people to 'Stand your ground'. Those still streaming back began to hurry, some to run.



Immediately after the shooting of Jack Duddy and Peggy Derry, a Whippet armoured car and seven Saracen armoured troop carriers came at high speed from Sackville Street, drove up Little James Street, across the William Street junction and into Rossville Street. Three of the Saracens drove into the car park behind the Rossville Flats. The others stopped outside the flats in Rossville Street, just short of a makeshift barricade.

Simultaneously, soldiers ran from the Upper William Street and Little Diamond area, through Colmcille Court and Kells Walk, into Glenfada Park. Almost before the Saracens came to a halt, soldiers armed with self-loading rifles were leaping out. The people who were walking towards the meeting, the last few stragglers, began running, panic-stricken, for the safety of the crowd.

The soldiers from the Saracens began shooting as soon as they hit the ground. Michael Kelly, 17, William Nash, 19, John Young, 17, were shot dead as they crossed the barricade outside the Rossville Flats. Soldiers then stationed themselves behind a low wall beside the barricade, opposite the flats.

In the Rossville car park one of the Saracens pinned Alana Burke, 18, against a wall, seriously injuring her. Soldiers emerging from the carriers immediately shot dead Kevin McElhinney. Seeing McElhinney fall, Micky Bridge, 25, ran out screaming 'Murderers!'. He was shot and wounded. Patrick McDaid, 24, and Michael Bradley, 22, were shot and wounded.

Those who were in Glenfada Park tried to flee into Abbey Park when soldiers, who had come on foot from the William Street area, appeared. At the narrow exit from Glenfada Park to Abbey Park, James Wray, 23, Gerald Donaghy, 17, Gerald McKinney, 35, and William McKinney, 27, were killed. Joseph Friel, 20, and Patrick O'Donnell, 40, were wounded.

The soldiers who had killed Michael Kelly, William Nash, and John Young stationed themselves at the low wall in Rossville Street and set up a line of fire across the narrow exit from the Rossville car park. Patrick Doherty, 21, and Hugh Gilmour, 17, were two of those who ran into this line of fire. Both were shot dead.

Bernard McGuigan, 41, went to the assistance of Doherty. He too was shot dead. Alex Nash, 52, father of William Nash, ran to his son when he saw him fall. He was shot and wounded. Patrick Campbell, 53, was shot and wounded about half-way between the Rossville Street barricade and Free Derry Corner. Michael McDaid, 17, was also killed in the same line of fire.

4

A FEW HOURS after the shooting the following statement was issued by British Army headquarters in Lisburn: 'After the Civil Rights demonstrators had moved down Rossville Street and were well clear of the William Street area, separate rioting crowds of 200 and 300 were heavily stoning troops manning a number of road barricades in the William Street area.

'Three companies of the 1st Battalion the Parachute Regiment were called forward to disperse the rioters and make arrests.

'Soon after they deployed at 4.10pm they came under nail bomb attack and a fusillade of fire of 50 to 80 shots from the area of Rossville Flats and Glenfada Flats. Fire was returned at seen gunmen and nail bombers.

'Subsequently, as the troops deployed to get at the gunmen, the latter continued to fire.

'In all, a total of well over 200 rounds was fired indiscriminately in the general direction of the soldiers. Fire continued to be returned only at identified targets.

'The companies regrouped in William Street at 4.50pm.'

Speaking on BBC television the same night Major-General Robert Ford, Commander of Land Forces in Northern Ireland, said: 'Most certainly there is no doubt that the Parachute Battalion opened up only after they had been fired upon.'

A further statement issued by army headquarters in Lisburn said that four of the dead men were on the 'wanted' list and that two of those wounded and in hospital had admitted to carrying arms.

Two days later in the House of Commons, Lord Balniel, Minister of Defence, said: 'It is not right that the Army's case should go by default when bitter, intemperate, and, to the best of my belief, inaccurate or untrue statements have been made against it. It would be grossly unfair to the forces who are in Northern Ireland.

'At 3.55 a high-velocity round was fired across William Street from the direction of the Rossville Flats, striking a drainpipe four feet above the heads of a party of soldiers. A few moments later, a man was seen preparing to light a nail bomb in William Street; he was shot as he prepared to throw, was seen to fall, and was dragged away by his fellows.'

(Anyone who believes that Balniel is more than a parliamentary parrot for army officers should compare the last sentence with the following statement from Colonel Harry Dalzell-Payne of the Directorate of Military Operations. It was made the previous day, and quoted in the Daily Telegraph: 'The men of a machine-gun platoon observed a man preparing to light a nail bomb. The order was given to open fire as the bomber prepared to throw it. The man was seen to fall but was dragged away by comrades.')

'At 4.15,' Balniel's House of Commons statement went on, 'three companies of the Parachute Regiment came through the barricades in an attempt to arrest the handful of rioters who were throwing stones in William Street.

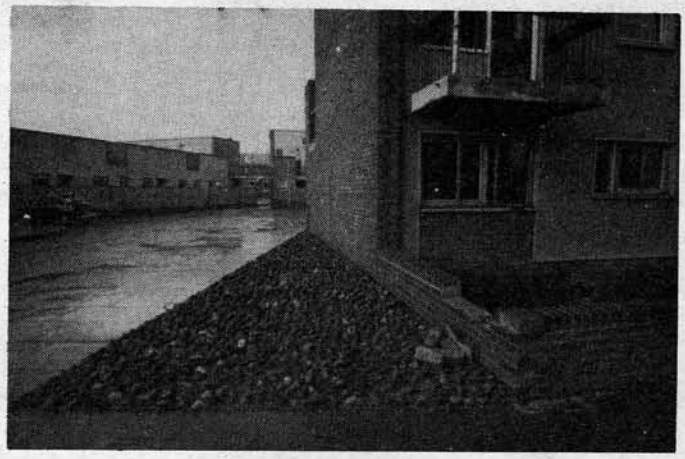
'They arrested about 28 in a matter of a few minutes. At the same time, they came under fire from gunmen, nail bombers and petrol bombers, some in the flats, some at ground level. Between 4.17 and 4.35pm, a number of these men were engaged. Some gunmen were almost certainly hit, and some almost certainly killed.

'In each case, soldiers fired aimed shots at men identified as gunmen or bombers. They fired in self-defence or in defence of their comrades who were threatened. I reject entirely the suggestion that they fired indiscriminately or that they fired into a peaceful or innocent crowd.'

Under examination the army's and Lord Balniel's version of the events collapses.

- The army and Balniel claim that an unspecified number of nail bombs were thrown before soldiers opened fire. A nail bomb consists of up to a pound of gelignite encased in six-inch nails. Its explosion can be heard at a distance of half a mile. Within half a mile radius of the area where shooting took place there were many thousands of people including many British and foreign journalists and television personnel. None heard nail bombs.
- The army and Balniel claim that more than 200 shots were fired by the IRA at the soldiers. Nobody but the army spokesman heard these shots. Some journalists, for instance, Simon Winchester of The Guardian, claim that a few shots were fired by the IRA during the 'battle'. No one heard a barrage of IRA shots before the army opened up.
- The army claims that four of the dead men were on the

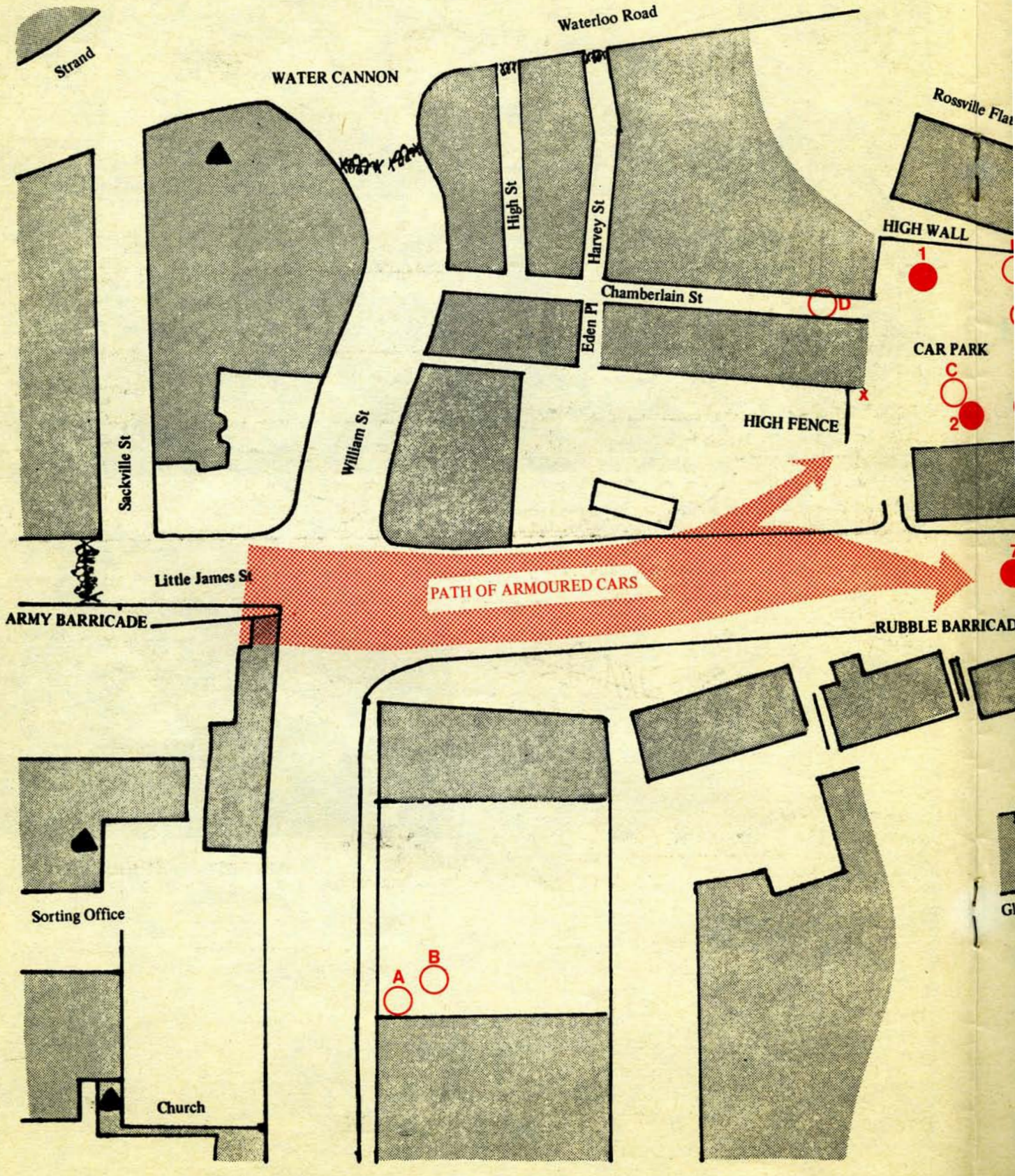
Photograph 1 shows the Rossville car park. The six foot exit into Joseph Place, through which people tried to flee, is bottom right.



Photograph 2 shows Glenfada Park. The fatal exit into Abbey Park is in the centre of the picture.

● Dead
1) Jack Duddy
2) Kevin McElhinney
3) Patrick Doherty
4) Bernard McGuigan
5) Hugh Gilmore
6) William Nash
7) Michael McDaid
8) John Young
9) Michael Kelly
10) James Wray
11) Gerald Donaghey
12) Gerald McKinney
13) William McKinney

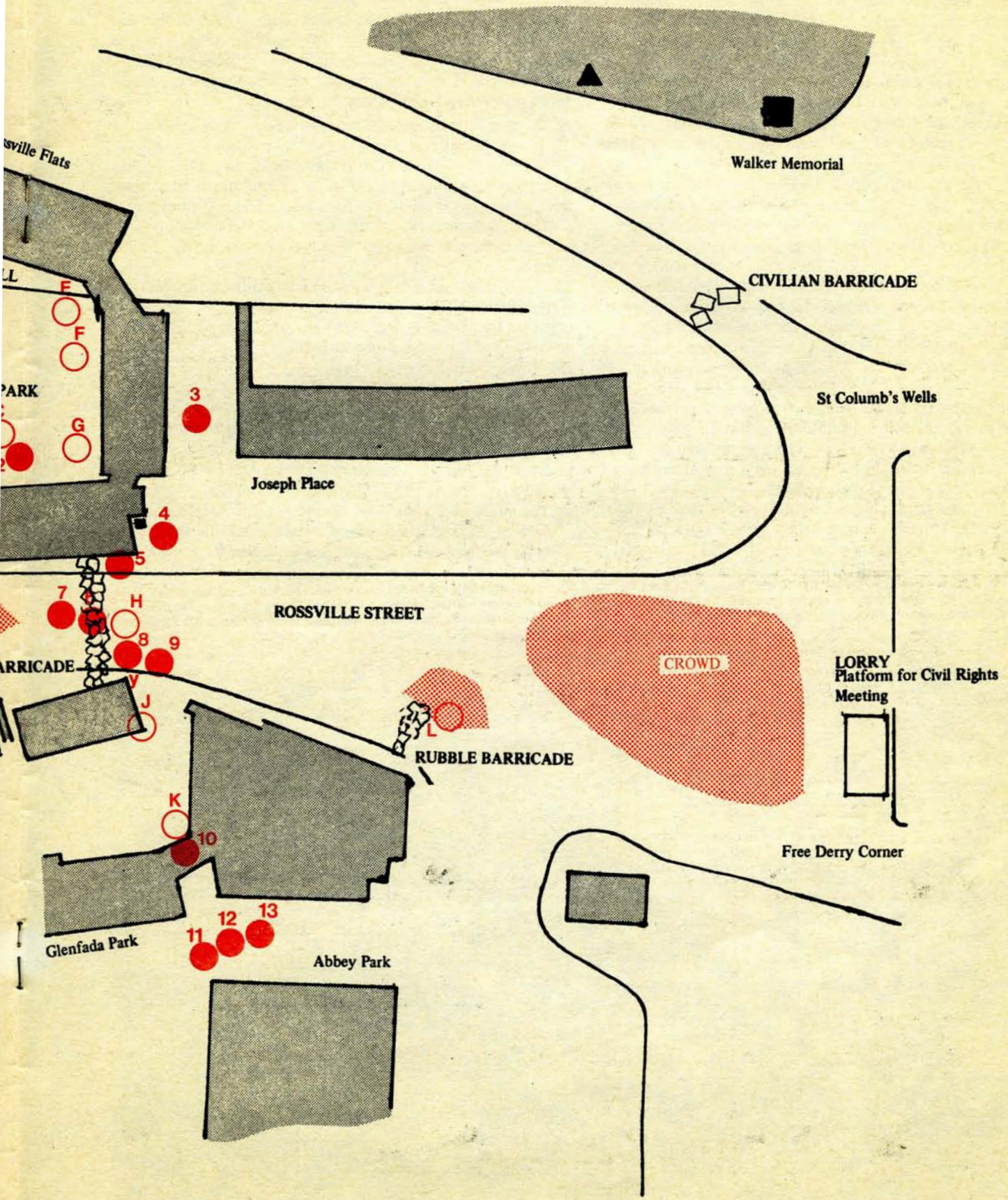
○ Wounded
A) Damian Donaghy
B) John Johnston
C) Michael Bridge
D) Peggy Deery
E) Patrick McDaid
F) Michael Bradley
G) Alana Burke
H) Alex Nash
J) Patrick O'Donnell
K) Joseph Friel
L) Patrick Campbell



▲ Army sniping positions on high roofs

Photograph 1) was taken from point X.

Photographs 2) and 3) were taken from point Y.



'wanted' list. Up to the day they died, nine of the men were working regularly outside the 'no-go' area. Five worked in large factories; the others were a print-worker, a docker, a salesman, and a grocer's assistant. Each had to pass at least one army post to get from home to his place of work. Before 30 January, if the authorities had wanted them, they could have had them. These nine were: William McKinney, Michael Kelly, Patrick Doherty, James Wray, John Young, Jack Duddy, Kevin McElhinney, Hugh Gilmore and Gerald McKinney.

Three were unemployed–Gerald Donaghy, William Nash and Bernard McGuigan. All three 'signed on' at the labour exchange in Strand Road, Derry, at a specified time each week. Had any of these three been 'wanted' the army would have known exactly where and when they would be available each week for arrest.

The thirteenth man, Michael McDaid, lived and worked in the Bogside. He is the one dead person who might in theory have been 'wanted', but not available for easy arrest. However, he too regularly left the 'no-go' Bogside area to go to dances or films.

- The army claims that two of the wounded men had admitted using arms. All the wounded deny having made any such admission. Indeed, all deny that at the time when this army claim was made, any of them had been questioned. None of the wounded has been charged. None is under armed guard in hospital.
- Balniel described the first shot by the army thus: 'A man was seen preparing to light a nail bomb in William Street. He was shot as he prepared to throw'. The man referred to is 15-year-old Damian Donaghy. He has not been charged with any offence. He has not been questioned.
- The army and Balniel claim that most of the 'IRA gunfire' came from snipers in or on top of the Rossville and Glenfada Flats and that some of these snipers were hit. No bodies were found in or on these flats. None of the wounded was discovered in or on the flats.
- The army and Balniel claim that all the dead men were carrying either guns or nail-bombs. It is possible, by using carbon-tests, to determine whether a man has recently fired a gun or handled a nail-bomb. During the post-mortems–which, at the insistence of relatives, were held in the presence of an independent, qualified observer–the hands of each of the dead were carbon-tested. All tests proved negative.
- The army claims the soldiers fired only at 'seen gunmen and nail bombers'. The autopsy reports which are available support those witnesses who deny this. For example:

1 The army claims that Jack Duddy was shooting a gun or throwing a nail bomb when shot. Eye-witness Mary Quigley, 25, says: 'A boy was making for cover in an alley and a soldier raised his rifle and the boy fell to the ground. He tried to crawl to cover and the same soldier fired again and hit the boy'.

The autopsy shows that the bullet which killed Duddy entered at the **top** of his right shoulder and left through his left shoulder.

2 The army claims that Pat Doherty was firing or throwing nail bombs at them when hit. Eye-witness Patrick Duffy contends that Doherty was bent low, running away. The autopsy shows that the shot which killed him entered his back low down and left from his chest.

3 The army claims that Kevin McElhinney was shooting at or nail bombing them when killed. Eye-witnesses say that he was on his hands and knees crawling away. The bullet which killed him entered his left buttock about an inch from the anus and travelled through his body to leave at the left shoulder.

4 The bullet which killed Bernard McGuigan entered at the back of his skull low down on the left-hand side and left through the right eye. This confirms Geraldine Richmond's

Photograph 3 shows Rossville Street and Joseph Place, with the City Walls and the Walker Monument in the background. The rubble barricade, on and around which five people were killed is bottom left. On emerging from armoured cars soldiers took up position at the point from which this picture was taken. Firing diagonally across Rossville Street they thus cut off the exit from the Rossville car park.

eye-witness report that he was neither shooting nor nail bombing, but crawling on his stomach towards the body of Pat Doherty.

5 Mathew Connolly, 21, says that John Young was on his hands and knees creeping across Rossville Street towards the supposed safety of Glenfada Park when he was hit. The path of the bullet—which hit his left eye, travelling downwards—confirms this.

6 Gerald McKinney was killed by a bullet which hit him in the left chest, travelled upwards and slightly backwards and left from the right chest. Eye-witness Sean Carr says: 'They all started running away except Gerald McKinney, who stood still with his hands above his head. The soldier came forward within six yards of him and shot him'. Doctors say that the path of the bullet was consistent with his hands being held either above his head or away from his body.

7 Sean Carr says that William McKinney was shot from behind as he bent over the body of Gerald McKinney (no relation). The autopsy shows that the bullet hit him in the back and left, slightly higher up, from his chest.

8 Sean Carr also tells that James Wray was in a crowd running away when he was hit. The autopsy shows that there were two bullet wounds in his back.

9 Other eye-witnesses claim that Michael Kelly and William **10** Nash were both stooped low, trying to cross the Rossville Street barricade when struck by bullets. The autopsies show that in both cases the bullets travelled steeply downwards through their bodies.

11 The bullet which killed Hugh Gilmore entered his right chest and left from the lower left chest, going through his body along a slightly downward line. This confirms the evidence of witness Charlie Best and Joe Doherty that Gilmore was crouching near a telephone box outside the exit from Rossville Flats when shot by a soldier standing across the street at the entrance to Glenfada Park.

12 Michael McDaid was shot through the cheek, the bullet exiting through his right lower shoulder blade, which is in line with evidence that he was crouched, with his hands on his head—under arrest—when killed.

13 Gerald Donaghy was shot in the chest near his left lung. The bullet travelled downwards and was removed from his back. Doctors say that it was almost certainly a ricochet.

In no case does the medical evidence support the army's contention that some of the men were high up in sniping positions when shot. *Taken on its own* the medical evidence is conclusive in disproving the army story that all the men were either shooting or throwing nail bombs when fired at.

If a man fires at and hits a sniper in a high position the bullet should enter at the front and travel upwards. No such bullet wound was inflicted on anyone.

5

CLEARLY the army's story is not true. What then is the truth?

The 1st Royal Anglians, the 1st Coldstreams, The 2nd Royal Greenjackets and the 22nd Light Air Defence Regiment were in Derry before and after 30 January.

The 1st Battalion of the Parachute Regiment arrived from Palace Barracks, Holywood on the morning of 30 January. They went back to Palace Barracks the same evening, mission, presumably, completed. What we really need to know is: what was that mission?

The general belief in the Bogside is that the Paras simply ran amok and shot indiscriminately into the fleeing crowd 'to teach the Bogside a lesson'. This is highly unlikely. Paratroopers don't run amok. They are by all accounts a highly disciplined and efficient force.

It is stretching credulity very far to assert that in the presence of the Commander of Northern Ireland Ground Forces—who was in Derry that day—they collectively lost their cool and breached orders. It can safely be taken for granted that they took up the positions they were instructed to take up, laid down the lines of fire they were instructed to lay down and aimed at targets which they had been told to aim at.

With that in mind one can usefully examine the pattern of casualties.

All except Peggy Deery and Alana Burke were men. Every man killed was broadly speaking 'of military age'. That suggests highly *discriminate* shooting.

When one examines the positions where the dead and wounded fell a more exact pattern emerges. Almost every casualty fell inside a belt about fifty yards broad, beginning inside the Rossville car park and running across Rossville Street into Glenfada Park and ending in Abbey Park. The army might explain this by suggesting that IRA men run in straight lines twenty or thirty abreast. But there is a simpler explanation.

Another curious and very important fact is that Damian Donaghy and John Johnston were shot and wounded at 3.55. They fell hundreds of yards away from any of the other casualties. Moreover, after they were shot, the army held fire for more than quarter of an hour before re-commencing attack.

One further odd fact must be considered before putting forward a hypothesis. The march was illegal. The security forces were committed to stopping it. It began in a 'no-go' area. It remained in the no-go area as it wound its way from Creggan through Brandywell and Bogside. It emerged from the no-go area as it turned from the Lone Moor Road into Creggan Street, more than a quarter of a mile from the point in William Street where the army did finally stop it. From behind a barricade in Windsor Terrace soldiers watched the march impassively—about 60 years away—and made no attempt to interfere.

A hundred yards further on, at the junction of Creggan Street and William Street the same thing happened. Soldiers stationed in Francis Street stood immobile as the marchers surged past.

By their own lights the army 'ought' to have intervened at one of these points. Why allow an illegal march, thousands strong, to pass unhindered when a volley of CS gas would have turned it back?

The reason could be that the army *wanted* the march to get to the bottom of William Street so that the Paras' plan could be put into effect, as it was, in the perfect topography of the Rossville Street area.

One hypothesis explains all this: that the army shot Damian Donaghy and John Johnston in cold blood in order to draw the IRA out from the Bogside and into the area between William Street and the line running from the Rossville car park to Abbey Park; that having shot Donaghy and Johnston they waited fifteen to twenty minutes to give the IRA time to get into this position; that they then thrust into Rossville Street and set up lines of fire preventing the IRA from running back into the Bogside; in other words they cut off the exit from Glenfada Park to Abbey Park, and the exit from the Rossville car park into Joseph Place, shooting all men of military age who tried to cross these lines.

Examination of the map will show that if those in the area

outlined above *were* mostly IRA men, then cutting off the two exits mentioned would have effectively sealed them in, given that the army already held William Street and Waterloo Street. Studying the map and the aerial photographs some military minds must have boggled at the possibilities.

Thus two men were killed and three wounded in the Rossville car park. Seven men were killed and two wounded around the exit from the car park. Four men were killed and one wounded near the exit from Glenfada Park to Abbey Park.

Immediately afterwards paratroopers arrested at gun point every young man they found in the area. Twenty-two men were arrested in one house in Chamberlain Street. Jubilant army officers began telling newsmen that they had killed 'quite a lot' of IRA men, wounded some and arrested seventy IRA suspects.

The army had good reason to prepare such a plan. One of its problems is that the enemy is reluctant to 'come out and fight'. As numerous outraged British newspaper editorials testify, the IRA adamantly refuses to march down the street in broad daylingt in battle array, guns blazing, towards the British Army. This makes the British Army's job more difficult.

One tried and trusted method of bringing the enemy to battle is to attack something which he feels he has to defend.

'Attack the Bogside, shoot a couple of Bogside Civil Rights marchers', a medium ranking officer of the Paratroop regiment may well have thought in the weeks before 30 January, 'and the IRA will *have* to come out fighting—or else lose all credibility as "the army of the people".'

Shoot two people like Damian Donaghy and John Johnston in William Street and the Provisional and Official IRA will emerge from the depths of the Bogside and pour into the area around the Rossville Flats and Glenfada Park to do battle. By 4.15, according to the army theory, there *ought* to have been dozens of IRA men in the designated area, an area overlooked by army snipers on surrounding rooftops and about to be sealed off by the Paras' thrust into Rossville Street.

From a strictly military point of view it was quite a plan. Strategists might smile—perhaps some did—at the symmetry of it. But it was constructed around one disastrous misconception. The IRA had not read the books and didn't understand that they were supposed to act in the manner anticipated.

Neither had Duddy, McElhinney, Doherty, McGuigan, Gilmore, Nash or McDaid; nor Young, Kelly, Wray, Donaghy, McKinney or McKinney. And not understanding the patterns of thought which shape the military mind, they were all shot dead around Rossville Street, most of them, probably, wondering why.

All this, of course, is mere hypothesis. To clinch the matter one would have to have available records of the instructions given to the soldiers going in, copies of the written orders of the day and the radio log for the relevant times. These things have not been made public. In all probability they never will be.

But the hypothesis stands up, because it accounts for all the available facts. Some of the facts can be explained by no other hypothesis.

It accounts coherently, consistently and convincingly for everything which happened around Rossville Street that day. Lord Widgery will have to ponder long for a better explanation.

6

THE IRA did not act as the British Army expected it to. The main reason for this is that the British Army, like British politicians, completely misunderstands the relationship between the IRA and the Catholic working class communities in Northern Ireland.

The IRA do not use Civil Rights marches as a cover from which to attack the British soldiers. To do this, and thus place the lives of marchers in danger, would be tactical lunacy.

Six shots were fired by the IRA in the area where people were killed. All missed. Only two were fired while the army was shooting.

A member of the Official IRA fired a .38 revolver into Chamberlain Street after seeing Jack Duddy shot. After the army had ceased firing an Official IRA man fired one shot from a .303 rifle into Rossville Street. A few moments later a Provisional fired three rounds from a Thompson sub-machine gun from Westland Street into Rossville Street. Twenty minutes later, about half a mile away from the scene an Official fired one .303 round into Barrack Street from the corner of Cooke Street and Joyce Street. He was wounded by return fire.

There were no other IRA shots.

Both the Official and Provisional IRA had taken almost all their weapons out of the Bogside and into the Creggan Estate. It was thought that they might be needed there. Creggan, everyone knew, would be almost deserted when the Civil Rights march left and headed towards Brandywell and Bogside. It was feared, and widely rumoured, that the British Army might use this opportunity to invade and sieze the estate.

Some members of the both IRAs were on the march, unarmed. When the paratroopers opened up the IRA men could not have reacted as the army expected, even if they had wanted to. They had no weapons to hand. As it was, members of both groups did rush to Creggan and fetch guns. They arrived with the arms after the army had completed its shooting. It was then that the shots from the .303 and the Thompson were fired, and that the Official sniper at the corner of Cooke Street and Joyce Street went into position.

The Official who fired the .38 revolver—an officer in that organisation—says that he was carrying the weapon 'for personal protection' and that he used it—against orders—because he 'lost his temper'.

7

IN A 'DELICATE' political situation such as exists in Northern Ireland the army does not make plans without consulting the politicians.

The plan which the Paratroopers put into operation would have been conceived some time previously, most likely by a Para staff group. It would then have been submitted for approval to a 'higher authority' the most immediate being in this case Colonel Dereck Wilford, commander of the 1st Battalion, and General Robert Ford, Commander of Ground Forces in Northern Ireland.

Wilford and Ford on their own would certainly not have sanctioned a plan with such potentially decisive results and, even at its most perfect, the certainty of civilian casualties. The plan would have had to be put to the members of the Joint Security Committee—General Tuzo, the Inspector General of the Ulster Constabulary, Prime Minister Brian Faulkner and John Taylor. Faulkner and Taylor would have had to consider the political implications.

At the beginning of the year Faulkner had announced a 12-month extension of the ban on marches. This had considerably enraged many of his own supporters—members of the Orange Order, the Royal Black Preceptory and the Apprentice Boys, whose many summer marches were thus outlawed.

Illegal anti-internment marches were taking place at a rate of more than one a week. In the first three weeks of January the Northern Resistance Movement and the Civil Rights Association had between them held marches in Belfast, Dungannon, Armagh, Newcastle, Castlewellan, and Magilligan. Faulkner's right-wing supporters were making it clear that if this did not stop, they, too, would march in defiance of the law.

On Thursday, 20 January, a deputation representing the Orange Order met Faulkner to discuss the matter. Afterwards they said that they would 'watch with interest the anti-internment marches'.

On Saturday, 22 January, the Amalgamated Committee of the Orange Order, the Royal Black Preceptory and the Apprentice Boys met for four hours in Lurgan. In a statement afterwards the committee said: 'In the absence of a clear demonstration of its (the ban's) effectiveness, the government could hardly expect our people to observe it'.

On Tuesday, 25 January two Unionist MPs, Robert Mitchell (North Armagh) and John Laird (St Anne's) rebelled and voted for a motion put down by the Rev Ian Paisley censuring the government for imposing the blanket ban.

Meanwhile Mr William Craig was piecing together his 'Ulster Vanguard' movement and telling mass rallies to 'prepare for action'.

To survive politically Faulkner needed something drastic done about the anti-internment marches. And he needed something drastic done about Derry.

For more than a year security forces had not been able to operate freely in the Creggan, Brandywell and Bogside areas. Since 9 August, the day of internment, the army and police had been shut out completely. This area of 30,000 inhabitants, by far the biggest and the only surviving no-go area, was a running insult to established ideas of good order.

This was the situation when the Civil Rights Association announced at the beginning of the week before 30 January that they were going ahead with a march in Derry on that date. And when, to aggravate matters further, Dr Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party announced that it would hold a religious service in Guildhall Square in Derry at the time when the march was scheduled to arrive there.

On Wednesday 26 January at Stormont, Faulkner and Taylor talked with General Tuzo. On 27 January Faulkner flew to London and spoke privately with Heath for more than an hour. On 28 January Heath presided over a meeting of the British Cabinet's Defence and Overseas Committee. Present were Maudling, Whitelaw, Davies, Carrington, Barber and Balniel. The service chiefs also attended. On 29 January the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the British Army issued the following joint statement:

'Experience this year has already shown that attempted marches often end in violence and must have been forseen by the organisers (sic). Clearly, the responsibility for this violence and the consequences of it must rest fairly and squarely on the shoulders of those who encourage people to break the law . . . The security forces have a duty to take action against those who set out to break the law.'

The same day the Democratic Unionist Party announced in the following terms that it was calling off its religious service:

'We have been assured that the Civil Rights march will be halted by force if necessary. We are prepared to give the government a final opportunity to demonstrate their integrity and honour their promise, but warn that if they fail in this undertaking they need never again ask Loyalist people to forfeit their basic right of peaceful and legal assembly.'

We cannot know, and are never likely to be told, exactly what was said at Stormont, what passed between Faulkner and Heath, what Heath told his colleagues. But we can say with certainty that 30 January was mentioned at all these meetings, and that, before Bloody Sunday, the political and military establishments were well aware, and quite happy, that it was going to be just that.

8

IN THE AFTERMATH of Bloody Sunday there are very few working-class Catholics in Northern Ireland who are not implacably hostile to the British Army. This is something of a change from the situation which obtained in 1969 when soldiers first appeared on the streets.

To understand why this change came about, and what steps it is necessary to take to ensure that there are no massacres in the future, we have to look at the British strategy towards Northern Ireland over the past three and a half years.

In 1969 the Labour Government decided to intervene decisively to force democracy on Northern Ireland, not out of any passionate commitment to democratic ideals, but because a developing anti-Catholic pogrom in Belfast and Derry threatened British interests. Had nothing been done to prevent a slaughter of Northern Catholics, the Fianna Fail government in the South would have been swept out of office by the tide of Republican anger.

The troops came in, prevented a pogrom and, while they imposed a kind of order on the community, Britain set about the job of restructuring Northern Irish politics to meet the needs of a changed situation.

For almost half a century the Unionist Party had ruled Northern Ireland with little more in its political arsenal but a rag-bag of sectarian slogans. Successive British governments, Labour and Conservative, had cheerfully observed the pattern of discrimination, gerrymandering and repression. None intervened as the Unionist Party suppressed each challenge by any means available.

In 1969 this would no longer do. There was now as much British investment in the South as in the North of Ireland. Green capital was as important to Britain as Orange. 'Democratisation' was the order of the day.

For a time all seemed to be going well. There was relatively little trouble on the streets. Popular papers ran half-page pictures of Tommies sipping tea at street corners in the Lower Falls. There was much talk of light at the end of tunnels. In a series of determinedly non-controversial debates at Westminster

bi-partisan camaraderie pervaded the Chambers as each front bench congratulated the other on 'not raising the temperature'.

Reforms were introduced. 'Moderate' Catholic leaders accepted and welcomed them. British politicians and commentators looked forward to the day, not far off, when Northern Ireland would be a decent, sane and civilized state—not unlike Britain. The more visionary discerned the possibility of peaceful progress towards a Federal Ireland in which North and South would at last join hands under the benign gaze, not to mention the economic stranglehold, of a friendly Britain.

But in the Bogside, the Falls, Ardoyne and other Catholic ghettoes there was none of this happy optimism. The 'reforms' were making no difference.

Reforms have to be implemented by someone. They require a police force, a magistracy and an army of officials able and willing to put them into effect. Such a state machine did not exist in Northern Ireland.

The state machine which did exist had been pieced together during fifty years of one-party rule. It was locked into the Unionist Party structure. And it was a very formidable machine indeed.

The Unionist Party's adjuncts, the Orange Order, the Royal Black Preceptory and the Apprentice Boys, numbered an estimated one hundred thousand men—drawn from a Protestant male population of half a million. The Orange Order could reach into the Cabinet Office as easily as into the office of the housing manager of an obscure Rural District Council. It influenced the appointment of Prime Ministers and trainee policemen, judges and council road-sweepers. It was a machine such as Mayor Daley might have sighed for.

It was not possible to make this machine suddenly, after fifty years, change gear and operate in a new way. The reforms went onto the statute book, and stayed there.

Reacting against this, more and more people in the Catholic ghettoes began to see that the only way they could ever guarantee their own civil rights and physical security, was to end the Northern Ireland state, to make it ungovernable, to smash Stormont. Once that feeling erupted onto the streets the Catholics were in conflict with the civil power—i.e. with the army. From mid-1970 until the present, the conflict has steadily grown more bitter and more bloody. And as that happened the IRA emerged from the shadows onto the centre of the stage.

The IRA is the organisational crystallisation of Catholic ghetto feeling. As such it posed the single greatest threat to British plans. While it operated successfully, the Catholics had sufficient self-confidence to sustain their intransigence; and while the Catholics remained intransigent all attempts by Britain to modernise the method of her rule over Ireland were doomed to failure.

Once the IRA was identified as the main enemy, once the Catholic aspiration to smash the state was demonstrated, the short-term aim of the British government co-incided exactly with the instincts of the Unionist right wing.

Thus, having come to end the rule of redundant right-wing unionism, the British Army, by mid-1971, was behaving exactly as Catholics remembered the RUC and the B-Specials behave. The only difference was that the Army was better at it.

How much better was demonstrated on January 30th.

The tragedy of Ireland is that even if the most far-sighted British plans worked out, even if the IRA was defeated and the Catholics thereafter accepted, albeit sullenly, a radically restructured Stormont, even if the British forces then confronted and defeated any subsequent violent Protestant reaction, the bloody scenario of the past three years could, and almost certainly would, be played out again at some future date with but minor variations.

The only solution is not to change the way in which British big business dominates Ireland, but to end that domination forever. Only then will there be lasting peace in Ireland.

There was a day of national mourning in Ireland when the victims of Bloody Sunday were buried. Having mourned, the task now is to organise.

The following appeared on the front page of 'The Starry Plough', the newspaper of the Official Republican Movement, a few days after Bloody Sunday

THERE'LL BE ANOTHER DAY

BLOODY SUNDAY was carried out with one objective. The British Army decided coldly and deliberately to shoot the risen people off the streets. We were shot with our backs turned, in some cases, with our hands in the air as we went to rescue the wounded. We were killed on the barricades, in the courtyards . . . and a few died God knows where. The vultures picked them up first. But the siege goes on. The 808 acres of Bogside, Brandywell and Creggan remain free. Forty of the forty-two entrances to Free Derry remain barricaded.

Sunday, bloody Sunday, was a fine day and a foul day. It was a fine thing to swing down Southway, thousands of us singing, to pick up thousands more of our comrades at the Brandywell. And then to swell through the Bogside where it all began four years ago. Do you remember? . . .

We asked them to ban the Corporation, and they said no, and then they banned it. We demanded houses and they said no, and then they built them. We demanded that Craig should go, and they said no and then he went. We told the police to leave the Bogside and they said no — running all the way back to barracks. And when Sam Devenney died, paying the price of it all, we thought it more than we could bear, but we did. Death was strange then. Death is no stranger now, but the price is higher, and no easier to bear. No one who died was a stranger to us.

What impossible things did we demand this time? That our internees be freed? That we walk on our own streets, that the Stormont cesspool be cleaned up — even the S.D.L.P. couldn't bear the stink. For the least of these and the best of these, thirteen men were murdered last week. Let it be said of them with pride, they died on their feet and not on their knees. Let it not be said of us they died in vain.

Stay free, brothers and sisters. There'll be another day.